



Non-Radical Changes: Editorial

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The new volume of *Sprawy Narodowościowe* / *Nationalities Affairs* starts with a farewell. It was with great sadness that we learned of the untimely death of Professor Wojciech J. Burszta, Editor-in-Chief of the journal until 2020. Therefore, the first part of this volume is *In Memoriam*, dedicated to the memory of Professor Burszta. We asked two of his collaborators, colleagues, and research partners Katarzyna Wrześcińska and Michał Rauszer to share with us their memories about him.

Professor Burszta took the reins of the reactivated journal in 1998, but it was 1992 when *Sprawy Narodowościowe*, now subtitled *Seria nowa* [A New Series], started to be published again after the hiatus of fifty-three years. This shows to what extent the history of our journal reflects the twists and turns of Polish history. *Sprawy Narodowościowe* was first issued in interwar Poland in 1927. The continuity of the journal was soon ruptured by the Second World War, and the change of political order halted the revival of *Sprawy* for another almost fifty years. Appreciating this long journey, as a new editorial team of *Sprawy Narodowościowe* we attempt to root our efforts in the rich history of the journal, at the same time being aware of new challenges the journal faces today.

Thus, we decided on a collective model of leadership. From this volume on, *Sprawy Narodowościowe* is led by two equal editors-in-chief, and the team is composed of four Slavic Studies scholars, representing various points of view. This not only refers to our idea of this journal as a forum for area studies researchers, but also to the complex and multilayered character of this academic field. Thereby, Ewa Wróblewska-Trochimiuk, as an expert in Croatian and Serbian studies, will cover our Balkan-related issues, together with another specialist in this geographical area, Marzena Maciulewicz, who additionally

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provides expertise on the contact zones between Slavic and non-Slavic inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula. The West Slavic countries, including their connections with German-speaking regions, are the field of interest of another member of our team, Karolina Ćwiek-Rogalska. Olha Tkachenko, in turn, specializes in East Slavic countries, including Ukraine and Belarus. The composition of our team allows our readers to expect a variety of topics, held in comparison and connection with each other.

Sprawy Narodowościowe is already the leading Polish journal devoted to nationalism and ethnicity. We believe that it will continue as an international platform for transdisciplinary research on nationalisms and ethnic issues, especially in Central Europe. We understand this region as a constellation of ideas which is embodied in space. This concept of Central Europe includes both Slavic countries and their non-Slavic neighbors (e.g. Albania, Austria, the Baltic States, Greece, Hungary, Moldova, Romania). This approach to Central Europe requires the examination of reciprocal relations with cultures in relatively close geographical proximity, which were often the source of ideas proliferating in the region (e.g. Germany, Italy, Scandinavian countries, Turkey). Likewise, it does not exclude Russia as the influential neighboring state. Hence the composition of our team and the extensive range of articles in this volume, and in future volumes as well.

The new layout of the journal resulted from the cooperation of the editorial team with the graphic designer Katarzyna Gerula. Our joint attempt was to create a minimalistic yet meaningful cover, reflecting the robust tradition of the journal. The circular emblem that was the focal point of the interwar cover layout became the main visual inspiration. The new cartographic motif with outlines of Central Europe framed by a compass introduces the subject matter of the journal. It also points to its beginnings, as the contours are based on a map published in 1927, the same year the first issue of *Sprawy Narodowościowe* appeared in print.

In the project, the families of two fonts are used: the san-serif *Lato* [Summer] typeface, started in 2010 by the Warsaw-based designer Łukasz Dziedzic, is combined with serif *Brygada 1918* [Brigade 1918], a revitalized typeface designed by Mateusz Michalski, Borys Kosmyńska, Anna Wieluńska, and Przemek Hoffer. The latter is based on the casting matrices for the typeface *Brygada* [Brigade], which was created during the interwar period in the type foundry Idźkowski & Co in Warsaw. The set and style of the typographic elements were inspired by the appearance of the first historical issues of the journal. Moreover, both typefaces are available under the Open Font License. This choice, then, also reflects our attitude toward the idea of openness in science.

The changes in the journal include not only the new aim and the newly established editorial team. To emphasize our belief in equality as an inherent element of academic culture, we aim at broadening the list of reviewers by including more female scholars. Likewise, in our pursuit to democratize *Sprawy Narodowościowe* as a platform of academic discussion, we would like to invite as authors not only established scholars and distinguished professors, but also early career researchers, PhD candidates and students.

Our editorial team is focused on providing expertise and helping our authors in achieving the full potential of their contributions. In this regard, we are supported by an amazing technical editorial team of the Publishing Centre at the Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences. We could not have done all this without Dorota Leśniewska, who always pays attention to the smallest details, and Piotr Otręba, helping us with all technical questions. We want to thank Małgorzata Chudzyńska for checking references, Anna Boguska for tireless plagiarism screening, Jerzy Pieńkowski for layout editing, and Piotr Styk for his almost detective-like abilities when it comes to proofreading. With such support we are certain the journal can achieve all its goals, and the authors can be satisfied with their work as it is published.

We have decided that from this volume onwards the journal will only publish contributions in English. As already declared, we are open to the broad audience. English has become *lingua franca* in the academic environment and publishing in English increases the chances of the articles to be seen and read outside particular language boundaries. Although thematically *Sprawy Narodowościowe* covers the region of Central Europe, we don't want to be tied only to this geographic territory. There are many academic institutions and scholars around the world whose field of interests focuses on the issues raised in the journal. The studies of nationalism, nation-building, migration, discrimination, regional and minority studies on the area of Central Europe exceed the nominal territorial boundaries of this region.

Simultaneously, we have decided to slightly modify the structure of volumes. Apart from previously published *Papers* and *Book Reviews*, we would like to introduce new sections: *Constellations* and *Retrospectives*. *Constellations* is the section devoted to articles on broader reciprocal relations between cultures which are in our focus and those which remain more distant. To stress that we are open to scholarly debates, in the section entitled *Retrospectives* we publish polemics with articles which appeared in *Sprawy Narodowościowe* in the inter-war period. To face this challenge, we invite the most prominent scholars in the field who currently conduct their own research on a given topic to creatively comment on the work of their predecessors. We encourage contemporary researchers to discuss how academic perspectives have changed over time, as well as to present the current state of the art, the agenda, and the angle from which a given matter is usually approached.

We are aware that, as the new editorial team, we inherit both desired and unwanted traditions of *Sprawy Narodowościowe*. We look at certain scholarly issues discussed in the journal from a different perspective; some of the articles published before 2021, in our opinion, would require a substantial discussion. We believe that articles published in the journal could be perfect research material not only for historians of science – they show the entanglement of science in the ideological discourses that dominated at a given time, reflect trends in research, and indicate the topics most frequently undertaken in the period. We are certain that they are also an excellent point of departure for the dialogue between researchers studying national and ethnic issues.

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The topic under scrutiny in this volume, which we proposed in July 2020, was meant to be a thought experiment: how to describe Central European radicalisms? We started with the image of a bridge connecting opposites as a topic strongly present in the political and philosophical thought of many Central European nations. Many of them have a dream of becoming a bridge between two different religious, political, and cultural realms. This enables them to think about their culture as moderate and mild. The Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz expressed this idea when he wrote that the Polish nation values "Simplicity and hospitality, / Despising violence and cruelty". To sum up this attitude, he coined a well-known catchphrase: "We like village songs and peasant frolics. / We Slavs like idylls. This is not bucolic!" (Mickiewicz, 2016).

This diagnosis led us to the question of the presence of different forms of radicalism, seen as the reverse side of the bucolic image of Central European political and social reality in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries. Thus, we proposed an approach in which various radicalisms are viewed not only as a destructive force for the public sphere but also as a culture-making impulse. Since there are many definitions of radicalism, we approached it as a dispute about the public sphere and political rules, leading to fundamental changes. Etymologically, radicalism is connected to the Latin word "radix", meaning "roots". Therefore, radicalism points at the source of things. Owing to the rhizome-like nature of radicalism, then, the stream of brave radical visions unveils roots of various phenomena.

If we want to search for the roots of radicalism as a full-fledged idea, and not as a term from the vernacular language, we will find them in the age of Enlightenment. As an intellectual current, the Enlightenment, with its conviction about the necessity of changing fundamental rules of social life, could also be described as radical. In 1843, the British philosopher Jeremy Bentham argued against the popular opinion that radicalism is dangerous, pointing out that it could be seen as a remedy for social pathologies and injustices. Thus, radicalism became a synonym for socio-political or even moral transformation (Bentham, 1962). This mindset could be confronted with one going back to the *Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right'* by Karl Marx (Marx, 1970). What emerges in this work is the belligerent version of radicalism, with its Romantic concept of an uncompromising struggle against any kind of enslavement. Although both philosophers agree that radicalism is a way of overcoming inequalities, the tools they propose to use in the struggle against them are different.

Reflection on radicalism expanded during the twentieth century, when the question about far-right political extremism was formulated for the first time (Lipset, 1955), and the problem of radical movements became apparent. The 1960s saw the beginning of a dispute on the susceptibility of certain social structures to radicalism. Considering all these discussions, we asked whether radicalism can be ascribed to a particular region

or culture. In other words, we wanted to examine whether – in the light of contemporary area studies – there are any geocultural preconditions for radicalism.

What are the outcomes of this search? Already the first article published in this volume, “How Poles Radicalised Belarusians: On the Mechanism of Coercion” by Katarzyna Kurza, challenges our assumption of what radicalism is. The author shows radicalism as a rational reaction to systemic solutions that were harmful and enforced by violence. She investigates the case of the interwar Belarusian national movement, which allows her to test the hypothesis that radicalization was rather a process of adaptation to the new order after the First World War.

Two more authors who also discuss the national tensions in the interwar period, yet in this case with reference to antisemitic violence, tackle the issue of the software of radicalism. In her article “Bombs in Vilnius: Radicalization of Antisemitic Attitudes and Practices Before World War II”, Natalia Judzińska writes about the choreography of anti-Jewish violence, approaching it from the spatial perspective. She points at the university as a possible place where radical attitudes can be developed and disseminated; she also presents how the process of trivialization of language occurs when it comes to radical actions pursued in the urban space, in this case – the anti-Jewish violence in late 1936 and early 1937 in Vilnius. It was the 1930s that saw Stanisław Waćławski, a student and member of the Camp of Great Poland, killed during the antisemitic riots in the city in 1931, a case analyzed by Izabela Mrzygłód in her study “The Cult of the Martyr: The Symbol of Stanisław Waćławski and Rituals of Violence in the Warsaw Student Milieu of the 1930s”. Unlike Judzińska, she sees student support for antisemitism and extremism as a result of intermediate stages, linking radical ideology with the actions of social actors. The spatial focus and the topic of antisemitic violence connect these two studies with the article “Extended Antisemitism: The Case of Poznań” by Joanna Roszak. She proposes to look at various kinds of violence towards memory entrepreneurs as an example of extended antisemitism, and analyzes this phenomenon in the light of testimonies of researchers and social activists she interviewed.

The way radicalism can bear positive fruits, even if they remain utopian, can be observed in Aliaksandr Smalianchuk’s study entitled “The Last Citizen of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: The Editor Ludwik Abramowicz (1879–1939) and the Idea of *Krajowość*”. Here, the author presents one of the main ideologists of the idea of *krajowość*: harmonious coexistence of the nations of the historical Lithuania, an idea that was popular and found new supporters. At the same time it was a radical idea in the period, so Abramowicz struggled in uncertain political conditions of the times. Our readers can follow the uneasy path he took to defend his principles against the policy of assimilation of national minorities in interwar Poland.

The whole new level of radicalization is unveiled by Tomasz Rawski, who takes us to the Balkans and reveals the origins of the process of radicalization of memory politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina in relation to the 1995 Srebrenica mass killings. In the article entitled “The Persistence of National Victimhood: Bosniak Post-War Memory Politics of

the Srebrenica Mass Killings”, he shows that the origins of memory radicalization lie in the long-term persistence of nationalist memory politics, its monopoly on shaping social order and collective memory. Rawski shows radicalization as an ideological operation and as a political strategy to gain power. Radicalism appears to be a memory operation: it creates antagonisms that in turn allow one group to suppress another. In this way, radicalism is more an input, which is a well-stated scheme, rather than an output of history.

Radicalization as a political strategy, this time not imposed by the state, but rather a grass-roots activity, yet with a clear transfer of ideas between these levels, is shown by Francesco Melito. In his study “Defending the Traditional Polish Way of Life: The Role of Fantasies”, he analyzes them as fantasmatic narratives that form identities. As a result, radicalization leads to polarization of society, and these fantasies sustain a neo-traditionalist conception of Polishness. As an example, Melito examines countermarches against LGBT parades in Poland, concluding that fantasies and ideas expressed during these events sustain a neo-conservative universe and become tools in a non-liberal counterrevolution.

Culture wars, based on the example of how the LGBT movement in Poland is used as an enemy, is a subject matter of the article by Olena Yermakova. While Melito focuses on the local initiatives, she analyzes the example of anti-LGBT rhetoric used by Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość), a Polish populist radical right party. In her article, entitled “PiS vs LGBT: The ‘Othering’ of the LGBT Movement as an Element of Populist Radical Right Party Discourse in Poland”, Yermakova explores radical statements of prominent members of the party as an example of “othering” practices. She approaches the topic under scrutiny from the perspective of critical discourse analysis, using Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl’s analytical framework. Here, radicalism becomes a strategic political tool to obtain present aims. In turn, the article by Katarzyna Kotyńska, entitled “Ways of Othering: Literary Image of Russians in Habsburg Lviv”, shows how these strategies can be employed in the case of past and present events alike. The author compares Polish and Ukrainian literary texts presenting Russians in Lviv at the beginning of the twentieth century and at the beginning of the twenty-first century. She presents the radical image of Russians in both Ukrainian and Polish collective memory.

To wrap up our considerations on the topic of radicalism, we present two reviews of the books, published in recent years, that tackle the topic from different perspectives. One, written by Ewa Wróblewska-Trochimiuk, shows how a seemingly radical idea of revolution can take a non-violent and rather peaceful form, based on diverse examples from Europe and beyond. She presents how the authors of the edited volume *The Long 1989: Decades of Global Revolution* link various revolutions around the world and what else we can draw from them. Similarly, Agnieszka Sadecka in her review of Ivan Krastev’s predictions from the essay *After Europe* critically addresses his observations, showing what we can abstract from them in the rapidly changing political landscape.

Publishing this volume is not the end of discussion about different faces of radicalism in Central Europe and its constellations. We invite our readers not only to read the con-

tributions we publish, but also to actively discuss with them. At the same time, we ensure that *Sprawy Narodowościowe* remains a valid platform of exchanging ideas, opinions, and research outcomes. To enhance this process and to speed it up, following the spirit of the times we all live in, we encourage you to follow the journal social media account. We treat it as another platform for academic debate, where we can continue the discussion and enrich it with further cases, details, and theories.

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